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AN EVOLUTION IN POLITICS

SPEECH

ON THE

POLITICAL ISSUES OF NINETEEN SIXTEEN

DELIVERED AT ELKO, NEV.

ON MAY 19, 1916

By

HON. CHARLES A. TOWNE



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PRESENTED BY MR. CHILTON

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AN EVOLUTION IN POLITICS: THE ISSUES OF 1916.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES A. TOWNE,

(A Former United States Senator from the State of Minnesota.)

ELKO, NEV., MAY 19, 1916.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW AMERICANS:

We have assembled upon the eve of a political campaign under international and domestic auspices unprecedented in the history of the world. There is raging among the Christian powers of Europe a war with which, for cruelty and destructiveness, no mutual murder among nations in all past history is to be compared. They have unchained all the brutish instincts of barbaric man and have augmented, disciplined, and directed them with all the organized resources of modern science. The result is a challenge to the sanity of the human race. An inevitable incident is the derangement of international relations and a menace to the commercial liberties of neutral states.

Domestically we are approaching the end of an administration. Democratic in all branches, which has accomplished an economic revolution in our national economy and reversed absolutely the trend of our political development.

The concurrence of these two situations confronts the American people in this campaign with considerations of unexampled delicacy, difficulty, and importance. They impart an even more than ordinary solemnity to the inquiries and deliberations which ought to precede every great political pronouncement by the electorate of this Republic.

It is to-night my proud privilege to speak to you on the achievements of the national Democratic administration during the eventful period since the 4th day of March, 1913, and to submit, for your consideration, some of the reasons for believing that an indorsement of those achievements by the voters of the United States in the momentous election of next November is both deserved on the party record and demanded by the interest and the glory of the American people.

No survey of this past accomplishment would be adequate, nor could any appeal for future popular confidence be hopefully made, without at least a brief introductory reference to the political and economic history of the country, exhibiting in their proper perspective the events of the last three years and vindicating the right of the Democratic Party to leadership in the pending contest for industrial liberty and social justice.

Even before the discovery of America men had dreamed that sometime a new world would be found beyond the western ocean, in which the most significant acts in the great human drama should be staged. After the founding of the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, and especially after the pulses of a nascent national life were felt, the ancient prophecies became very definitely the inspiration of the loftiest conceptions touching the destiny of America. In 1784 Dr. Richard Price only voiced the quite prevalent opinion among earnest and thoughtful men when he declared that the era opened by the accomplishment of American Independence would witness "a general diffusion of the principles of humanity." This idea, which has been a frequent theme of the greatest and sincerest of our patriots and statesmen, found fitting expression about a year ago in these words of the illustrious present Chief Executive of the Nation: "America has a great cause which is not confined to the American Continent. It is a cause of humanity itself."

In the attempt to realize this destiny the American people, under the leadership of George Washington, threw off the yoke of foreign rule; under the guidance of Abraham Lincoln they abolished an institution that held a deeper bondage for the white man's soul than for the black man's body; and now, under the captaincy of Woodrow Wilson, they have begun the overthrow of privilege, the equalization of opportunity, and the political and industrial enfranchisement of the average man.

Splendid as were the first two struggles mentioned, it is obvious that the third, if it be equally successful, must prove the most splendid of all. It will be waged with different weapons and will extend over an incomparably longer period, but its ultimate success will be the consummation of the others—marking, indeed, the goal of all the struggles in the progress of mankind since social evolution began.

It is the crowning glory of the Democratic Party to be the chosen instrument of this "New Freedom." The party has returned to its pristine allegiance to the cause of the many against the few. Beginning, under its great founder, Thomas Jefferson, as the champion of that cause, it gradually succumbed to the inevitable temptations of power until, by 1860, it had become the tool of the most concentrated and aggressive special interest of that age, the institution of human slavery. Swept from office, in a great moral revolution, by the party of Lincoln, which consciously adopted the principles as it also revived the original name of the party of Jefferson, the party of Democracy, purified by exile and abstinence, and panoplied in the consecrated armor of a new crusade, began in 1912 the task of expelling the legions of privilege which the Republican Party had entrenched in every stronghold of the Government.

This task has now been partially performed and the party is about to seek from the people a mandate for the continuance of the work. But before I invite your scrutiny of a few of the principal items in this achievement let me ask you to take note of the fact that the case presented is not the ordinary one of the successes of a party in writing certain laws upon the statute books. Here is no victory of an organized opportunism. You will fail to grasp the true significance, whether of what the Democratic Party has already achieved under Woodrow Wilson or of what it proposes yet to do under that

same inspiring leadership, unless you realize that the entire program represents a deliberate revolution in the purposes, methods, and sanctions of the Government of this Republic. This view can not be over-emphasized. Some one has well said that the Republican Party is a party of measures, while the Democratic Party is a party of principles. Now, the basic principle of the Democratic Party is that the proper concern of government is the greatest good of the greatest number. It embodies the interest of the many rather than of a few only. It abhors every form of legalized privilege. It guarantees equal opportunity to all. The party has entered upon a purposed program of making this principle good in the political and economic life of the people of the United States. When, therefore, our citizens are invited to weigh the performances of the party during its present incumbency of office, and its proposals for future action, over against corresponding performances and proposals by the Republican Party, they should bear in mind that an adverse judgment upon the Democratic case involves not merely the conclusion that a particular matter might have been more wisely managed under Republican auspices, but that it would be better for the country to face about and march backward, away from the dawn of the era of equal rights back into the gloom of industrial feudalism. For the victory of 1912 was more than a party victory; it was the triumph of an idea. The defeat of the Republican Party in that campaign was more than a party defeat; it was the overthrow of an outgrown and vicious theory of government.

A consideration of the course of events since the 4th day of March, 1913, will show that the Democratic Party has recognized the solemn nature of the trust imposed upon it by the verdict of the elections of 1912, and that it has been responsive to that trust in the conduct of the Government in both domestic and foreign affairs. In an earnest attempt to realize the high democratic ideal of equality, justice, and humanity, it has sought to lessen privilege and to broaden opportunity in the industrial and economic life of our own people, and, while preserving peace with the nations of the earth, to vindicate neutral rights and commercial liberties upon the high seas.

This occasion will not permit an exhaustive review of the entire catalogue of Democratic achievement. I shall attempt merely to recite its principal items and with no purpose of exhaustive treatment.

THE TARIFF.

The subject that first invites our attention in this connection is obviously that of the tariff. In regard to it let me first emphasize again the fact that the action of the Democratic Party in substituting the Underwood Tariff Act for the Payne-Aldrich Act was not the mere substitution of one set of tariff schedules for another. It was the displacement of one system by another, the overthrow of an outworn and discredited fiscal doctrine by one more modern and scientific. Superficially the situation presented is that of replacing a tariff averaging about 54 per cent with one averaging about half as much. Fundamentally, the event marks a revolutionary epoch in the fiscal theory and practice of this Government.

It is notorious that the original doctrine of the Republican Party was that of protection as incidental to the necessity of raising the

great bulk of the national revenue through duties on imports. A glance at the first platform of that party adopted at a national convention, held at Philadelphia in June, 1856, will make this perfectly clear. It is no less evident that the present position of that party is that of protection for protection's sake. Time will not permit a full review of the course by which that great organization degenerated from the championship of human liberty to a partnership with organized economic privilege. Suffice it to say, in passing, that no charge of specific moral delinquency lies on this account against the Republican Party. Unfortunately, it is a rule of political experience rarely challenged by an exception that the possession of power tends to corrupt the possessor. There is always a vigilant minority ready, when the general public sentiment becomes careless, to take control of the party which is in control of the Government. Time and again it has happened in the history of self-governing communities that a spasm of public virtue, or a fierce reaction against oppressive laws, has swept into power a party pledged to a program of popular liberties, only to be followed by a slow surrender of the new forces to the old influences, until the party of progress becomes a party of reaction, the impulse toward economic freedom eventuates in a program of self-interest, and then a new political revolution is born and the cycle is repeated.

A brief reference to our own history will illustrate this law of paradoxes. The party of Thomas Jefferson came into power March 4, 1801, as a protest against the old Federal Party's centralizing policies of Alexander Hamilton. Its creed was synthesized by its immortal founder in the memorable motto: "Equal rights for all; special privileges to none." Thus, at its very birth, was the Democratic Party dedicated to the fundamental principle of industrial freedom; and it must always remain an inspiration to sincere Democrats that the same magical pen which traced the immortal guaranties of the Nation's Declaration of Independence engraved upon the original charter of their party a proclamation supplemental and complementary to that declaration. The creed of the party, practically coeval with our nationality and designedly expressive of the great purpose of that nationality as realized in its democratic conditions, must last while the Nation itself endures, embraced and advocated by some vital political organization.

The Democracy of to-day should be devoutly thankful that it has returned to the service of the Jeffersonian gospel. Between its advent to power in 1801 and its expulsion in 1860, it had followed the almost inevitable custom, becoming "subdued to what it had worked in, like the dyer's hand"; until, when repudiated by the American people under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln calling for the restoration of Jeffersonian principles, it had become the tool of a special interest. The party of Lincoln, which succeeded to power, underwent a similar sad transformation, but with accelerated speed and more shameless surrender. There is no more interesting story in our politics than that which tells of the gradual but certain declension of the Republican Party from the high estate of 1860 to the degradation of 1912; from the championship of civil liberty to the sponsorship of industrial servitude.

It is not to be supposed that such an abandonment of its ancient inspirations would be submitted to without protest by the rank and file of the party. Indeed, such protest has been frequent and violent from 1872 until now. It finds expression in denunciation of both specific party measures and general tendencies of administration, but especially against the iniquities of a barbarous tariff. The partnership between the beneficiaries of Republican rule and the leadership of the party, exemplified in opulent campaign treasuries filled by the tribute of grateful privilege, became a scandal. Increasing numbers of Republicans cried out against it. Now and then they organized revolts against it. Had it not been for the almost inexplicable tyranny of party habit, they would long ago have reformed the party by the overwhelming defeat of the organization. The principal outcry was, of course, against the party's tariff system, an outcry which its leadership answered by promises of reform. The tariff was to be revised, the schedules to be harmonized and greatly reduced. These promises, however, were made merely to serve the purpose of the campaign and were promptly forgotten afterwards. Even the McKinley bill was preceded by promises of tariff reduction. The promises took on added emphasis before the campaign which was followed by the enactment of the Dingley bill, which, instead of reducing duties, raised them. Similar promises, but with even more definiteness, were made in the campaign of 1908. They were followed by the culminating monstrosity of Republican tariff protection, the Payne-Aldrich bill, vigorously denounced even by the Republican President whose signature made it effective. Against this unblushing betrayal, this superlative bad faith, protest was raised throughout the country and by none more strongly than by Republicans. The consequence was that in the platform of their party in 1912 an attempt was made by the leaders to impart to their customary promise of tariff reduction an unusual solemnity; they not only promised to reduce the tariff but they "unequivocally" promised, evidently under the impression that the word of confessed and habitual promise-breakers might receive some reinforcement from a change in the formula.

But the party was spared the humiliation of a new recreancy. Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party, as a result of the elections of 1912, came into power in both administrative and legislative departments of the Government. That party had also made its promises; and the amazement throughout the United States produced by the instantaneous entrance of the party upon the performance of its pledges was an interesting commentary upon the popular estimate of Republican good faith.

The President promptly summoned Congress in special session. For the first time within the memory of living men a tariff bill was framed by the representatives of the people and without the masterful intervention of the lobby.

Nobody contends that the Underwood-Simmons Act was a perfect measure. No tariff bill ever was, and none ever will be, perfect. But there are two remarkable things to be noted about this legislation: First, and this is the thing to be particularly borne in mind, it constitutes a deliberate departure from the old-time standard Republican tariff legislation made frankly in the interest of privileged

industries. It is an about-face. It is a serious attempt to establish a system of duties on imports which, furnishing, along with other resources, adequate national revenues, shall bear with as little hardship as possible upon any of the industries of the country and afford as little refuge as possible for particular benefits to be enjoyed at the general expense. It promptly cut the average rate of duties in two in the middle. It very largely relieved the necessities of life from the burden of taxes and placed the chief load upon luxuries.

The second thing to be especially noted about the Democratic tariff act is that it went into effect and, so long as conditions permitted it a normal operation, continued, with remarkably little disturbance of commercial and industrial conditions in view of the fact that it represented so fundamental and revolutionary a change in tariff legislation. This disturbance was much smaller than was generally anticipated. Indeed, it may well be claimed to have been less than that which followed the upward revision by the McKinley, Dingley, and Payne-Aldrich tariffs. Becoming effective late in 1913, its normal operation was interrupted by the breaking out in Europe, in July, 1914, of incomparably the greatest war in the history of the world, involving an unprecedented interruption of the usual course of international trade and industry. Much controversy has been indulged in regarding the effect of this war upon the Democratic tariff act. It is perhaps sufficient here to say that it is as permissible for the advocates of the law to claim that an undisturbed career would abundantly have justified its wisdom as it is for the critics of the act to declare that the war has served to obscure its defects. Both are arguing from premises based on assumed conditions. An absolute demonstration can be made only by actual experience when the world shall have resumed its usual international habits.

COMMON-SENSE ATTITUDE TOWARD TARIFF: A TARIFF COMMISSION.

Let it be remarked, however, that during the period from November, 1913, to and inclusive of June, 1914, our imports were 10 per cent greater than during the similar preceding period, and that our favorable balance of trade for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, was \$300,000,000 greater than during the same relative period following the enactment of the Payne-Aldrich bill. Let it also be remarked that the Democratic Party occupies toward this great question of the tariff a common-sense attitude, and is not so committed to the precise terms, rates, and schedules of the Underwood Act as not to be able to see, and ready at any time to remedy, insufficiencies or inequities in its operation. Witness the recent action of the party forestalling its original provision removing the duty from sugar. Nor is it to be doubted that the wisdom of the party will prove equal at any subsequent occasion to modify the provisions of the act in accordance with the requirements demonstrated by actual experience.

For it must be admitted, fellow citizens, that opinion within the Democratic Party has changed within recent years in regard to this question of the tariff; or, rather should it be stated, there has come to be an increasing recognition of the great basic truth that no character of legislation is more empiric than tariff legislation; that to no

branch of governmental activity may be applied with more truth the statement that abstractions, maxims, alleged general principles, are apt to be of only mischievous use. In a speech in the House of Representatives in May, 1906, I attempted to show, and I think I did show, with the support of English and American experience particularly, that whether a duty should be high or low at any given time, or how high and how low it should be, is absolutely a relative question, a question to be determined by the circumstances existing at the time, both domestic and international.

That the position just indicated has practically become that of the Democratic Party is shown by the fact that it has committed itself to pass, and will pass at this session of Congress, an act creating a tariff commission whose duty it shall be to investigate and report upon industrial, commercial, social, and financial facts as necessary bases of any rational system of import duties. This places tariff legislation where it belongs, upon a scientific basis. It will supply the necessary data for legislation that should be adequate in producing revenue and just and fair to all classes in the community.

Let us ask for a moment, my friends, what sort of a figure will be cut by the Republican Party in attempting, if it shall attempt it in this campaign, to make an issue out of the tariff? In the first place, every charge they bring against existing legislation on the subject is based upon a begging of the question. They say that, if the European war had not happened, such and such disastrous consequences would have followed. But how little they are able to estimate the factors in the situation may be seen at once by considering the undoubted fact, which no Republican will have the hardihood to challenge, that no living man or association of men would be able at this moment to write one single schedule in any proposed new Republican tariff act. The war in Europe has completely upset all previous conditions and relations of international business. Nobody can now tell in what respects, and how far, those conditions and relations when reestablished after the war may vary from their former normal character. This everybody must admit.

What becomes, therefore, of the Republican claims for return to power based on any possible proposition of tariff legislation? In the absence of ability to formulate any comprehensive plan whatever, they are relegated to the necessity of ringing the changes upon two customary Republican themes: First, the alleged business incapacity of the Democratic Party; and, secondly, the outworn platitudes of incorrigible protectionism for protection's sake. The first, namely, the supposed business ineptitude of Democrats, is answered by the achievements of the last three years, in a program which, including tariff revision, antitrust reinforcement, and, above all, the reconstruction of our entire banking and currency system, surpasses any record in the political history of the United States for practical business and administrative capacity.

PEOPLE TIRED OF ECONOMIC FEUDALISM.

The second point is destroyed through the operation of forces of which the average Republican's mind is unconscious. The people of the United States have simply become tired of economic feudalism.

They have outgrown it. The inequalities that characterize its domestic operation and the handicap it imposes upon our newborn and rapidly expanding ambition for an increased share in the complex commerce of the outside world are now so clearly recognized by public opinion that a return to antique Republican usage is inconceivable. This situation many Republicans fail to comprehend. They have succeeded, naturally and logically, to the former imputed attitude of Democrats charged with learning nothing and forgetting nothing. It is the Republicans now that answer the description of the Bourbons. They are troglodytes. They dwell in the caves. They feed on the gloom of tradition. The light of prophecy can not reach them. They must inevitably hug their gods until the earthquake of political reconstruction shall destroy their prison house.

BANKING AND CURRENCY LEGISLATION.

Whatever criticism the opposition may pass upon Democratic tariff legislation, not even the desperate necessities of a political campaign embolden our critics to challenge the wisdom and beneficence of the Federal reserve bank act. In estimating this great accomplishment it is difficult to withstand the temptation to use language of seeming extravagance, for there is a general disposition to accord to it the highest possible rank in the annals of fundamental and constructive legislation. Indeed, if I may be permitted to characterize it, after some study of the legislative history of modern times, I do not hesitate to say that the passage, under the championship of the rejuvenated and rededicated Democratic Party, of the Federal reserve bank act is more epochal in financial legislation, which is the most important branch of governmental activity, more responsive to scientific principles, and more fraught with helpfulness in complicated commercial relations, than any legislative act in the entire history of the world.

The old national-bank system, born of the necessities of an unheralded Civil War and resultant vast expenditures, was a fairly serviceable makeshift under the circumstances of its creation. The Republican Party is entitled to whatever credit was deserved for an emergency measure that made a market for national securities and partially supplied an extraordinary demand for paper currency. But as a permanent fiscal instrument it was a failure. It was built on unscientific principles, had no automatic response to changing conditions, and aggravated some of the ills that a regulated currency system should remedy or abolish. Its continued existence during so long a period filled with demonstrations of its essential evils was a proof at once of popular patience and Republican incompetence. Chiefly by reason of its provisions permitting the heaping up of the bank reserves in the great banking centers, whereby vast sums of money became available for stock manipulation and speculation, the system had enlisted in its support and perpetuation a most powerful financial interest. This interest was always arrayed against any suggestion to substitute for a hidebound currency volume determined by the size of the national debt, a supply based on the liquid commercial assets of the country and responsive in quantity to the de-

mand for currency uses. So long as the Republican Party remained in power the country swung back and forth between monetary famine and currency plethora, a prey to inevitable recurrent credit panics bred by a system that absolutely compelled the banks to reduce accommodations and retire currency at precisely the times when business was clamoring for added credit and circulation.

In the place of this archaic money machine the Democratic Party has given to the country a system whereunder a dozen regional reserve banks, so located as to serve most conveniently the great commercial areas, and under governmental control, become the custodians of the country's reserve funds and agencies of commercial rediscount: whereunder, by an automatic operation as natural as breathing, the need of more exchange medium is met by the transformation of commercial bills based on commodity values into currency of general circulation, and whereunder, when redundant, the excessive volume is reduced *pari passu* with diminishing requirement. Under this beneficent legislation interest rates are equalized, reserves are less accessible to speculation and more available for legitimate enterprise, and credit panics, the besetting sin of the Republican régime, have become practically impossible.

If the Democratic administration could point to no other achievement than the Federal reserve bank act it would deserve the indorsement of the country in another lease of power.

RURAL CREDITS.

But the record embraces far more. If there was one member of our great American community that suffered more than any other, and derived less assistance than any other, from the old national-bank currency system, it was the farmer. Neither that law nor the interpretation and administration of it facilitated rural credit. Under the Federal reserve act, on the contrary, a tremendous gain has already come to the farmer. The reserve bank will discount his paper secured by storage on warehouse receipts; his paper arising out of breeding, fattening, and marketing live stock; his paper based on the purchase of seed grain and on his crops. Indeed, practically all the credit paper emitted by the farmer is available for rediscount at the reserve banks except paper arising out of the purchase of land or its permanent improvement.

FARMER'S CREDIT STABILIZED.

The accommodation already extended to the agriculturist through the machinery of the Federal reserve banks, an accommodation owing absolutely to the Democratic Party, aggregates hundreds of millions of dollars. And yet the party has not completed its program of justice to the farmer. By the Rural-Credits bill, now on its passage through Congress, it extends the field of financial relief for him into the domain of the purchase and the mortgaging of land, by facilitating the organization by farmers of associations mutualizing, consolidating, and stabilizing their individual credit and creating a new and practical form of negotiable security.

OTHER MEASURES.

The limits of an address like the present will not allow me to pass in anything like comprehensive review all the achievements of the Democratic Party under the inspired and inspiring leadership of our great President. Those already briefly cited constitute an all sufficient basis whereon to appeal to the voters of not only Nevada, but all her sister Commonwealths as well, for a renewal of public confidence. Yet I feel that I ought at least to name the chief items in the still unrecited calendar of Democratic performance for the purpose of showing how indefatigably the party has striven to keep its promises, and in insistence upon the fact, previously pointed out, that this activity represents a conscious return of that party to the original purpose of its creation, a definite assumption of the solemn duty and the high resolve to carry out under Woodrow Wilson the program to which it was consecrated by Thomas Jefferson.

Chief among the other domestic measures to be credited to the present Democratic administration which, though perhaps not ranking in importance with the fundamentally constructive legislation already mentioned, are nevertheless of similar import and responsive to the same basic Democratic purpose, are the following, to which I shall refer in only brief recital:

CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT.

The Clayton Antitrust Act, supplementing the Sherman law in line with commercial experience and judicial examination since that famous statute was enacted, making more definite the object of the law as directed against combinations of capital whose operation is injurious to the general good, against certain contracts calculated to produce or foster monopoly, against holding companies, interlocking directorates, and price discriminations calculated to injure or destroy competitive business, and granting to American labor a charter of industrial emancipation by excepting it from the commodity classification.

TRADE-COMMISSION ACT.

The Federal Trade Commission act, establishing a commission with large powers of investigation and supervision, acting as an administrative agency to advise business men, unearth unfair practices, and aid honest enterprise in its purpose to observe the law, obviating much vexatious and unnecessary litigation and making possible many adjustments between "big business" and the law without resort to the long procedure and rigorous formulas of the courts.

SEAMEN'S ACT.

The Seamen's act, extending to the virtually enslaved laborers upon the sea a tardy participation in that alleviation of harsh labor conditions which has been one of the most splendid achievements of modern democratical government.

branch of governmental activity may be applied with more truth the statement that abstractions, maxims, alleged general principles, are apt to be of only mischievous use. In a speech in the House of Representatives in May, 1906, I attempted to show, and I think I did show, with the support of English and American experience particularly, that whether a duty should be high or low at any given time, or how high and how low it should be, is absolutely a relative question, a question to be determined by the circumstances existing at the time, both domestic and international.

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OTHER MEASURES.

The limits of an address like the present will not allow me to pass in anything like comprehensive review all the achievements of the Democratic Party under the inspired and inspiring leadership of our great President. Those already briefly cited constitute an all sufficient basis whereon to appeal to the voters of not only Nevada, but all her sister Commonwealths as well, for a renewal of public confidence. Yet I feel that I ought at least to name the chief items in the still unrecited calendar of Democratic performance for the purpose of showing how indefatigably the party has striven to keep its promises, and in insistence upon the fact, previously pointed out, that this activity represents a conscious return of that party to the original purpose of its creation, a definite assumption of the solemn duty and the high resolve to carry out under Woodrow Wilson the program to which it was consecrated by Thomas Jefferson.

Chief among the other domestic measures to be credited to the present Democratic administration which, though perhaps not ranking in importance with the fundamentally constructive legislation already mentioned, are nevertheless of similar import and responsive to the same basic Democratic purpose, are the following, to which I shall refer in only brief recital:

CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT.

The Clayton Antitrust Act, supplementing the Sherman law in line with commercial experience and judicial examination since that famous statute was enacted, making more definite the object of the law as directed against combinations of capital whose operation is injurious to the general good, against certain contracts calculated to produce or foster monopoly, against holding companies, interlocking directorates, and price discriminations calculated to injure or destroy competitive business, and granting to American labor a charter of industrial emancipation by excepting it from the commodity classification.

TRADE-COMMISSION ACT.

The Federal Trade Commission act, establishing a commission with large powers of investigation and supervision, acting as an administrative agency to advise business men, unearth unfair practices, and aid honest enterprise in its purpose to observe the law, obviating much vexatious and unnecessary litigation and making possible many adjustments between "big business" and the law without resort to the long procedure and rigorous formulas of the courts.

SEAMEN'S ACT.

The Seamen's act, extending to the virtually enslaved laborers upon the sea a tardy participation in that alleviation of harsh labor conditions which has been one of the most splendid achievements of modern democratical government.

AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION ACT.

The Smith-Lever agricultural expansion act, for the systematic promotion of agricultural development, providing for demonstrators in household and farm economics and in all branches of husbandry, which is destined to prove of inestimable benefit to American agriculture in standardizing production and distribution costs and methods, and in systematizing the entire economy of the average farm, to whatever object chiefly devoted, an act I have heard praised almost extravagantly during my present brief visit to Nevada by some of your citizens best acquainted with the agricultural possibilities of your State.

SHIPPING BILL.

The Shipping bill, which, though not yet passed, is on the Democratic program for the present session of Congress, aiming at providing the country with a naval reserve in case of possible war, which is fundamental to any scheme of military preparedness, and assuring at least some approach toward appropriating the vast commercial opportunities now presented to the United States by the demoralized shipping conditions of the world.

OTHER BENEFICIAL LEGISLATION.

Nor must it be forgotten that the country owes to the Democratic Party two further accomplishments that illustrate and vindicate in most emphatic fashion the fundamental tenets of democratical government: The enactment of the income tax, a form of taxation universally held by economic authorities to be the fairest and justest of all schemes of taxation, because levied in proportion to the protection afforded by the Government it contributes to support, and borne by those who pay it in proportion to their ability to pay; and the adoption of the constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of United States Senators by the people, thus bringing into more direct and realizable responsibility to the electors of the country the membership of what is in some respects the most powerful legislative body known to history.

I do not hesitate to declare, my friends, that this review of Democratic domestic achievement, rapid and far from complete though it be, demonstrates that the claim of that organization upon the support of the voters of the country at the coming election is incomparably stronger than that advanced by any other political party on a similar occasion within the memory of living men. Later I shall proceed to inquire how our opponents attempt to answer this contention.

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If it be true that the present administration has been confronted with conditions of exceptional difficulty in the internal affairs of the country, what shall be said of the situation presented in the field of international relations? If it be true that no preceeding administration in our history has ever ventured to contemplate, much less to undertake, a program of revolutionarily constructive legislation

at all to be compared with that which the administration of Woodrow Wilson not only contemplated but deliberately undertook—not only deliberately undertook but has resolutely prosecuted and triumphantly carried out—what shall be the measure of our appreciation of that unparalleled, nay, that unapproached achievement which, in the midst of a war whose extent, complexity, destructiveness, and horror not only surpass all other wars of either ancient or modern times, but paralyze the pen that tries to describe them and the brain that dares to imagine them, has both kept us at peace and maintained our rights; kept us at peace amid a multitude of occurrences that would have caused a weaker man than the President to drift into war and a less-balanced one to rush into it; maintained our rights which an irresolute man would have surrendered and a rash man would have sacrificed?

This is the sublime accomplishment of Woodrow Wilson that shall loom, large and luminous, against the background of this historic age, when his critics and detractors shall have vanished utterly and his little would-be rivals shall have sought forgotten graves.

EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

Be it remembered that, as in the case of our domestic policies, so in regard to our foreign relations the course of the Government has expressed no varying and vagrant opportunism, but has been deliberately shaped according to the great lights of fundamental and characteristically Democratic principles. I think it may be justly said that, in the difficult and complicated circumstances of our relations toward the great belligerent European nations, the President has constantly had in mind to remain at peace to the very limit of its honorable preservation; to vindicate neutral rights and the hard-won guaranties of international law in all diplomatic patience, but with clearly announced ultimate firmness, and to insist that the respective belligerents shall yield recognition of these rights and guaranties, not as part of a bargain conditioned upon corresponding recognition by antagonist powers, but on the inherently meritorious and independent grounds on which the United States asserts them. And the great fact remains and remains secure from both obscuration and challenge by our opponents, that we have preserved peace and have not surrendered our rights.

MEXICO.

In regard to Mexico, I think it equally obvious that President Wilson's policy has been predicated upon two or three great fundamental considerations which, when properly apprehended and applied, harmonize, rationalize, and justify the conduct of our relations toward our unhappy southern neighbor. One of these principles is that the United States does not covet any Mexican territory and could never wage a war of aggression upon that country. Another is that the people of Mexico should be given the utmost possible opportunity to restore order and civil government within their own borders. Another, that public sentiment in the United States will

never support any administration in a policy of intervention in Mexico unless and until it shall have been demonstrated to a practical certainty that no possible alternative exists. Another, that the Monroe doctrine, as developed in its logical implications through a virtual entente with the principal Latin-American States, absolutely requires at least two things: First, that Latin America shall be fully persuaded of our good faith in disclaiming any purpose of aggression, annexation, or permanent interference to the south of us; and, second, that the prospects of any general and speedy arrival of settled political conditions in Central and South America can be immeasurably increased by letting it be known, beyond all possibility of misunderstanding, that this Government will not put a premium upon inconsidered revolution, political murder, factional irresponsibility, and national bankruptcy, by recognizing every bandit chief or sheep-thief revolutionary who, finding the capital of a Latin-American country temporarily undefended, its army unpaid or disaffected, or its commander taking a siesta, shall, through slaughter and pillage, succeed in raising a temporary flag over a permanent loan. The fall of Huerta has abbreviated by unimaginable mercy the annals of unborn revolution.

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It will be worth while very briefly to consider some of the reasons which to the Republican Party, or to certain of the respective factions that compose it, seem to offer more or less basis for their hope of defeating the party in power.

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In all the Republican clamor the nearest approach to a chorus is reached on the theme of the tariff. Habit makes this seem to them a safe topic. It requires no thought, moreover; all that is needed is a rehash of old slogans that in some mysterious way served the party turn on many a hard-fought field in the olden days. It is nothing to them that the country is in the enjoyment of an abounding prosperity. They keep up the senseless cry of hard times as a necessary concomitant of a Democratic tariff. If times decline to be hard, so much the worse for the times. The dinner pail is not full for the simple reason that it isn't a Republican tariff that has filled it.

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and necessity of preparing ourselves to guard and protect the rights and privileges of our people, our sacred heritage of the fathers who struggled to make us an independent nation—

and which is now framing legislation in amplification of our Naval and Military Establishments which, while not responsive to the extreme demands of some Republicans, is vastly beyond the concessions of others and represents substantially the average of the preparedness sentiment of our people.

CARPING ON BELGIUM AND MEXICO.

Then there are Republicans like Senator Root and ex-President Roosevelt, who now say that we ought to have gone to war because Germany invaded Belgium, in spite of the fact that Secretary Root's own instructions to the American delegates to The Hague in 1907 made the specific and emphatic reservation that no convention there adopted should bind the United States to any departure from our traditional policy of noninterference in the diplomacy of foreign States, or from our well-known attitude toward purely American questions; in spite of the fact that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft have both indorsed, in speech and in print, President Wilson's conduct toward the Belgian incident; in spite of the fact that Mr. Root, when Secretary of State, did not go to war with Japan over her seizure of Korea, notwithstanding our treaty with Korea, wherein we had engaged to use our good offices if her independence were threatened.

The case of Mexico has also come in for much Republican faultfinding. But both Presidents Roosevelt and Taft condoned acts of the same character as those over which one of them speaks in a way that means, if it means anything, that we ought to have marched into Mexico long ago, either to intervene or to annex. The fact remains, moreover, that President Wilson has shown marvelous patience in a situation wherein passion and haste might easily at any moment have precipitated a war costing hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of money, a course, as I have heretofore remarked, that the American people will not justify and that Latin America will not view without suspicion and enmity, as long as any alternative course is possible.

REPUBLICAN PARTY WITHOUT AN ISSUE.

In fine, my friends, the Republican Party has no issue. It can find none. It can make none. No great fundamental question looms before the country on which that party dare take so decidedly different a position from that of the Democratic Party as to make a clean-cut, definite question for popular judgment. They want the offices. That is their whole platform. To that end they are willing to meet in two conventions and chaffer and bully and make shadow-dance compromises that mean nothing. If either of the two wings, so desperately trying to seem to flap separately and so hard to keep from flapping together, had an atom of sincerity or self-respect they would be meeting as far apart as Seattle and Boston, and as syn-

chronous as Mayday and Christmas. The Progressives call the Regulars worse names than either call the Democrats, and if each is to be believed the blackest Democrat is an angel of light compared to the leaders of both. Yet the supporters of Roosevelt are willing to make a happy family with men they denounce as thieves, and the Regulars are getting ready to kiss the hand that smote them in 1912. Bah! It is a disgusting spectacle in this world crisis of real, great, fundamental things, in the year 1916.

Now and then we hear the once common charge that the Democratic Party hasn't any business capacity anyhow, and that only the Republicans have brains enough to run the Government; but since the Federal reserve act and the efficient administration of great Government business, like that of the Treasury, the Interior, and the Post Office Departments, the necessary temerity to venture the former smug and complacent assertion is less and less in evidence.

The incoherence and inconsistency manifested by our opponents in regard to issues are repeated and illustrated in the characters of the motley array of aspirants for their presidential nomination. They range from Cummins, who is so far ahead of the procession that it can never overtake him, to Weeks, who is so far behind that he can't hear the band; from Ford, who wouldn't get into a fight if he had to, to Roosevelt, who wouldn't keep out of one if he could; from Hughes, who, some say, would be defeated because the people know too little about him, to Root, who, they say, would lose because the people know too much about him. So, as Dooley says, there ye are. Take your choice. Personally I believe one is as easy to beat as another. Each has peculiar weaknesses, and none, in view of existing conditions, can marshal dangerous strength against the President.

If it were not for the almost incredible force of indurated and incorrigible partisanship, the critical situation of the world and the wonderful poise and wisdom of our great candidate would lead millions of Republicans to cast American ballots this year, make Wilson's election an overwhelming certainty, and postpone all petty party differences to a more peaceful epoch for settlement.

But, with most of them, "once a Republican always a Republican." A typical case, although, when baldly stated, it may seem exaggerated, is that of a well-known former assistant district attorney in New York, a man of ability and character and known for activities in many nonpolitical public movements. A few nights ago he made a speech in New York, in which he is reported in the papers to have said, in substance:

There come times, my friends, when certain men seem to be raised up by Providence for some great public service. At such times we thank God for such men. And so I to-night, my friends, say, "Thank God for Woodrow Wilson!" And then, as the applause subsided, he added: "Of course, I shall probably have to oppose him this fall. I am a Republican."

So fiercely will a man fly into the face of Providence for party sake; so unconsciously will he register a determination to remain a Republican even though it be to fight Almighty God! How much better, fellow citizens, to be a Democrat this year, pledged to a cause that you sincerely believe to be the cause of humanity, and devoted utterly to a leader whom even your opponents concede to hold his commission at the hands of Jehovah.

AS TO NEVADA.

The atmosphere of your brave young State, my fellow citizens, is congenial to democracy—democracy in both its generic and its special signification. The circumstances under which an enterprising and energetic population is developing your wonderful resources of mountain and plain are conducive to a condition of society little marked by divisions of caste, where individual effort is both protected and rewarded, where cooperation is an impulse and custom, and where personal worth is a test of influence. In such a community the Democratic Party of to-day pledged, as it is, to the practical realization of the great fundamental ideals of self-government and equality under the law, should be able to count with confidence upon an instinctive popular indorsement.

It is in this confidence that I have embraced with much satisfaction the opportunity of speaking to you at the very threshold of the campaign of 1916. It is not the first time that I have been privileged thus to meet the sturdy citizenship of Nevada. In the memorable political contest of 1900 I traversed your State from end to end, speaking in practically every town of any importance within its borders. Relatively small in point of population and not influential in the number of its electoral votes, the State of Nevada has nevertheless occupied a place of importance at many stages in our national progress. Its admission into the Union was part of the program resulting in the adoption of the thirteenth amendment to the National Constitution. The development of its enormous silver deposits gave it for a quarter of a century a unique position in the controversies, both national and international, so long waged over bimetallism; and more recently, the single standard having been adopted, it has contributed a quite disproportionate share of the country's output of gold. At present, if I may judge from indications obvious to a visitor, you are upon the eve of an agricultural progress, particularly as a stock-raising State, destined to supersede in importance and beneficence your eras of silver and gold.

Nor can I in your presence be unmindful of the opportunities I have enjoyed to become intimately acquainted with a number of the remarkable men whom your State has sent to the national councils, men of the highest ability, of the most untiring industry, and of a character and degree of influence utterly disproportionate to the modest rank of the State in population and development. Time will permit no more than a passing reference to some of them. I shall forever regard it as a privilege I can not adequately acknowledge that I was permitted for many years to enjoy an intimate personal association and friendship with the great Nevada Senator, John P. Jones, a man of Socratic intellect, whose influence in all discussions of the science of money was felt and recognized throughout the world. A tribute is also due to the rugged genius of William M. Stewart, to whom, probably more than to any other man, we owe the formulation of the mining laws of the United States. And in the catalogue of western statesmen whose labors in laying the foundation of the future greatness of this vast region must ultimately be celebrated in eulogy and monument, a high and honorable place is reserved for one of your present Senators, Francis G. Newlands. Lack-

ing the partisan impulse which guides the activities of many public men, Senator Newlands has been a somewhat detached but authoritative student of big national problems; and to him is properly ascribed the chief credit for the adoption of the great policy of irrigation, whose almost inestimable influence in the development of this western empire is hardly yet sufficiently understood. If the labors of the man who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before be deemed worthy of special commendation in Holy Writ, what paeans of praise shall rise to heaven from generations yet unborn in acclaim of him who caused millions of blades to grow where none at all grew before and gave to the desert wilderness the bloom of the rose?

Nor can I, my friends, omit to pay the tribute of my personal regard, of my very high estimate as to ability and public service, to Nevada's most recent representative in the Senate of the United States, Key Pittman. I make no apology at all for bringing to your attention somewhat in detail the claims your young Senator possesses upon the faithful, loyal, and efficacious support of his fellow citizens. In what I shall say of him to-night I shall attempt to take as little counsel as possible of the love I bear him and rest my judgment upon an impartial consideration of his qualities and achievements.

In the multiplicity of activities attached to a membership in the Senate of the United States, it is inevitable that there should be a division of labor and that different men should be active in different ways. For example, some Senators devote themselves especially to the study and discussion of national questions and to attempts to formulate and pass legislation affecting the broad interests of the entire country in either their international or their domestic aspect. Others give their energies chiefly to matters especially concerning their own States and their immediate constituents. Now and then, however, there are members of the Senate who possess the natural ability, the industry, and the personal adaptation to the varied requirements for successful activity in both national and local directions; men who, while constantly achieving practical results in administration and legislation especially helpful to the people of their own States, are also esteemed by their colleagues for the wisdom and insight which they bring to bear on the investigation and decision of national policies. To this class of statesmen Senator Pittman unquestionably belongs. I can say to you, his constituents, basing my statement on actual personal knowledge of and acquaintance with practically all the men that have come to the Senate of the United States during the last quarter of a century, that not in all that time has any State accredited to that high assembly a man who in so short a space of time achieved a position of acceptance and influence or accomplished concrete results comparably with your own great young Senator.

It is well known that the constructive work of legislative bodies is accomplished through the instrumentalities of committees, and a man's opportunities of usefulness in either the Senate or the House of Representatives are to a great extent controlled by the character of the committees to which he is assigned. When it is noted that Senator Pittman's assignments include the Committees on Terri-

tories, on Mines and Mining, on Public Lands, on Indian Affairs, and on Arid Lands and Irrigation, and that he is constantly active in the work of all of these committees, it is at once apparent how indefatigable must be his attention to duties especially involving the interests of his State and all her western neighbors, as well as those of our great Territorial possessions, and how extensive are his opportunities of practical local usefulness. When, moreover, it is also remembered that the Senator's service includes the Committee on Naval Affairs and that he was not long ago elected to membership on the Committee on Foreign Relations, the committee which under present conditions is the most important in the Senate, a more adequate estimate is possible of the extent of his usefulness and authority.

I will not pretend to give an exhaustive recital of Senator Pittman's labors, but I deem it a privilege as well as a duty to submit to you in rapid succession the principal items of his accomplishment.

Referring, first, to services more particularly national in their character, let me cite his active and helpful support of the income-tax law; of the constitutional amendment for the popular election of United States Senators; of the child-labor bill; of the child-bureau bill; of the bill for the increase of the Army as passed by the Senate, and especially of the amendment relating to the manufacture of nitrate, for which there is such an imperative national demand not only in the manufacture of powder as a part of our preparedness program, but also in the production of cyanides so essential in mining operations and as a fertilizer of constantly increasing requirement in the preservation and improvement of our agricultural lands; of the rural-credits bill; of the Federal reserve act; of the armor-plate factory bill, as to which he was given the unusual honor of being placed in charge of the hearing in the committee and of the debate upon the floor of the Senate, duties performed by Senator Pittman with very exceptional ability and success, as may be seen from an examination of the published hearings in the committee and of the proceedings in the Senate, where, after encountering the opposition of the ablest and most resourceful Republican leaders, he passed the bill by a vote of 60 to 23.

As before indicated, the culminating recognition accorded to Senator Pittman in the distinctly national field of senatorial usefulness was his election to membership on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, over seven other candidates for the place, embracing many of the most experienced and most influential of his colleagues.

Coming now to matters of primarily local character but of resultant wider effects, let it be noted that Senator Pittman, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, had charge of, and passed, the bill for the construction of the Government railroad in Alaska, the first Government-constructed railroad in our Republic, an epochal enterprise in some respects as significant as the building of the Panama Canal; that he had charge of, and passed, the Alaska coal leasing bill, which prevents monopoly in coal, will reduce the price of that necessity in the Western States, gives the poor man a chance at coal-mining, and contains stringent provisions protecting the workman in regard to health and to wages; and that, as chairman of a sub-

committee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, he had charge of, and passed through the Senate, against strenuous opposition inspired by representatives of powerful private interests, the bill that gave adequate and pure water supply to the city of San Francisco.

In regard to services of especial interest to the people of Nevada, the list of Senator Pittman's performance is a long and striking one. I will barely mention its most important items:

He had cyanides placed on the free list, reducing by 25 per cent the cost of this indispensable agent in the treatment of ores, and saving hundreds of thousands of dollars to the miners of Nevada.

He actively supported the Senate resolution that the Government purchase 15,000,000 ounces of silver for coinage use, thus attempting to forestall a further ruinous fall in silver bullion. The resolution passed the Senate, but failed in the House of Representatives. But when, early in 1915, silver had fallen to 47½ cents an ounce, Senator Pittman urged the Director of the Mint and the Treasurer of the United States to buy silver. After a time they did so; this action by the United States was followed by similar action by many other Governments; and the result was the rapid rise in the market value of silver which has been a startling feature of recent economic history and is generally agreed to have a bearing of the utmost importance upon the mining development of Nevada and upon great questions of international finance.

He promptly met the serious situation presented in the startling increase of rabid coyotes in Nevada by inducing the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Geological Survey to set 75 hunters at work at once throughout the State in a crusade of extermination, and by securing an appropriation of \$75,000 to continue the work.

He had the State divided into two public-land districts, thus encouraging entry and settlement of the public domain located in Nevada by greatly reducing the difficulty, time, and expense incurred by settlers.

He succeeded, where his predecessors had many times tried and failed, in confirming and validating in the occupants, as against the claimant railroad companies, titles to a large amount of lands along rights of way traversing many of the towns and cities of Nevada.

He passed through the Senate a bill to encourage the settlement and the development of the State through the discovery and utilization of artesian and subsurface waters; any citizen of the United States being authorized to locate four sections of land, with the right to explore for water thereon, conditioned upon his finding within two years and developing enough water practically to irrigate 20 acres, whereupon he is to receive a patent for 640 acres.

He passed through the Senate the bill granting 7,000,000 acres of the lands of the United States to the State of Nevada to aid in building up, equipping, and maintaining your great young State University, thus encouraging at once the settlement of the State, the preparation of her people for the intelligent performance of the highest duties of citizenship, and a permanent diminution of the cost of secondary education to the taxpayers.

Those citizens of Nevada, whether men or women, who believe that finally the government of all must rest upon the consent of all;

who believe that taxation and representation should be reciprocal; who believe that in our refining civilization an augmenting mixture of the feminine element makes for a higher sense of justice and morality and constitutes a prophecy of that ultimate condition of equality and peace which seems the destined goal of human social development, will not forget that Senator Pittman, from 1910 to this hour, has been a consistent and sincere advocate of the extension of the electoral franchise to the women of Nevada.

My fellow citizens, this record, which I have thus briefly summarized, is a subject for just pride to every citizen, and especially to every Democratic citizen, of Nevada. I repeat what I said a few minutes ago, that it is a record of distinction and usefulness not paralleled in the case of any other new member of the United States Senate in a similar period—four short years—during the last quarter of a century. This is not a figure of speech. It is the sober truth and a matter of my own personal knowledge. I assume the responsibility of saying that this record ought to entitle Key Pittman to a return to the Senate of the United States without a contest, certainly without a contest within his own party.

How could a new man hope to succeed to the same committee places? Where would he find an equivalent for that personal relationship now so complexly and so firmly established between your young Senator and his colleagues and so greatly conditioning his chance of influence? And what is the likelihood, based on the doctrine of mathematical chances, that a State would twice in succession draw so exceptionally qualified a servant? What encouragement would it afford the brilliant and sincerely ambitious young manhood of Nevada to see such unusual fidelity, such constancy of effort, such prodigious achievement, such unprecedented preparation for further service, rewarded by defeat for reelection at the hands of men who are beneficiaries of such labors and sharers in such renown? What estimate would the older members of the Union, whose faithful and illustrious public men are continued in office to increase the weight and influence of their constituents, place upon the judgment of a struggling western Commonwealth which should deliberately refuse to recommit a Senator whose first term, and that not of full duration, had placed him high among the leaders of the Council-of-Elders of the States? The Democrats of Nevada can not be so ungrateful to their faithful representative, so oblivious of their own interest, as to let it even seem doubtful whether Key Pittman is to be returned to Washington. It is inconceivable that, while he remains on the firing line at the Capital, his fellow Democrats can not be trusted to maintain their faith at home.

* Democrats of Nevada, you have now a special duty and opportunity. I have tried to point them out to you in a way whose sincerity may, I hope, excuse the presumption of so much emphasis. But I want you to listen a moment to the voice of one whose whisper is louder than my shout; whose wish should be more persuasive than a command to every loyal Democrat in Nevada; whose great intellect is busy with the most complicated, difficult, and momentous affairs ever thrust into the keeping of a President of the Republic,

and whose heart is full of the wide and intimate concerns of humanity itself.

Let me read you two telegrams:

ELKO, NEV., May 9, 1916.

HON. WOODROW WILSON,
White House, Washington, D. C.:

May I be permitted to assure you that the Democrats of the State of Nevada are in most hearty and enthusiastic accord with all the principles and policies that you have so ably and patriotically pronounced and maintained? I am satisfied that all the independent voters share in these sentiments. We are certain of your reelection, but realize the necessity of loyal support in Congress to the ultimate success of your principles and policies, and are therefore very desirous of knowing whether you have any preference with regard to who should be selected by the Democrats in this State as candidate of the Democratic Party for the United States Senate.

(Signed) A. W. HESSON, *State Senator.*

THE WHITE HOUSE.
Washington, D. C., May 17, 1916.

HON. A. W. HESSON, *Elko, Nev.:*

Your telegram received. I am following with the greatest interest the campaign in Nevada. Senator Pittman has been so generous and consistent an advocate of the policies which seem to me to carry at their heart the real welfare and progress of the country that I can not help feeling the profoundest interest in his return to the Senate. Those who have been associated with him here, as I have been, I am sure must all share with me the judgment that it would be a very serious loss to the Senate were he not returned.

WOODROW WILSON.

My friends, need more be said? I confess I feel as though now my duty were discharged. It is a privilege to be permitted to perform it; and I shall return to my home in the East, where I have never been able to forget that I am a western man, firm in the conviction that the Democrats of Nevada are only awaiting an opportunity to speak their sovereign word in reaffirmation of the faith of the fathers; in self-rededication to the new crusade of Democracy to make good its ancient creed; in loyal and patriotic devotion to America as the champion and hope of humanity in a world that has seemingly forgotten God; in freemen's homage to our great President in his resolute determination to achieve domestic justice, to preserve international peace, and to vindicate the rights of all mankind.

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